

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12 NEA-10

TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 NIC-01 EB-11 CU-04

RSR-01 /140 W

----- 103239

R 152113 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5738

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOWH

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USDEL SALT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 08608

COPENHAGEN FOR MCGUIRE; VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL; HELSINKI  
FOR MPT DEL

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: GW, UR, US, NATO

SUBJECT: GERHARD SCHROEDER' S VIEWS ON ATLANTIC AND  
EAST/ WEST RELATIONS.

SUMMARY: DURING JUNE 14 DISCUSSION WITH VISITING  
FORMER USNATO AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH AND EMBOFF,  
BUNDESTAG FOREIGN POLICY COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN GERHARD  
SCHROEDER ( CDU) ADDRESSED ISSUES OF ATLANTIC AND  
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EAST/ WEST RELATIONS. SCHROEDER EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE SKEPTICISM CONCERNING GLOBAL CONSIDERATION OF SECURITY, TRADE AND MONETARY ISSUES. HE DESCRIBED SPECTRUM OF WEST EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD KISSINGER SPEECH, PLACING CURRENT GERMAN SPD/ FDP GOVERNMENT ON MOST POSITIVE SIDE OF SPECTRUM. SCHROEDER ALSO NOTED GROWING GERMAN PARLIAMENTARY CONCERN THAT US/ SOVIET SUPER- POWER BILATERAL COOPERATION COULD PREJUDICE SUBSTANTIAL GERMAN OR OTHER ALLIED EUROPEAN INTERESTS AND THUS UNLEASH BACKLASH FOR INTENSIFIED EUROPEAN DEALINGS WITH USSR; THIS BUNDESTAG CONCERN WAS ALSO IDENTIFIED FOR US BY FONOFF STATE SECRETARY MOERSCH. END SUMMARY.

1. ASKED BY AMB ELLSWORTH REGARDING GERMAN PARLIAMENTARY REACTION TO KISSINGER AP SPEECH, SCHROEDER SAID US INITIATIVE WELCOMED IN FOREIGN POLICY COMMITTEE BUT HE AND HIS COMMITTEE WERE SKEPTICAL ABOUT POSSIBILITY OR WISDOM OF TREATING SECURITY, TRADE AND MONETARY ISSUES AS ONE PROCESS. SCHROEDER SAID THIS REALLY WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE BECAUSE EUROPE WAS STILL UNABLE TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE; ( THIS POINT WAS ALSO MADE TO ELLSWORTH BY CHANCELLERY DEPUTY ASST SECRETARY FISCHER.) WHILE WEST EUROPEANS IN GENERAL AND GERMANY IN PARTICULAR MAINTAINED CONVICTION ON NEED FOR VERY CLOSE TIES WITH THE US IN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AREAS, FRENCH WERE NOT PREPARED TO RECIPROCATE US CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEIR SECURITY OR TO TIE THEMSELVES TOO CLOSELY TO THE US ALLIANCE LEADER.

2. IN THIS CONNECTION, SCHROEDER SAID IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL TO VIEW WEST EUROPEAN PARTNERS IN A KIND OF SPECTRUM OF ATTITUDES ON SEEKING COMMON SOLUTIONS WITH US. AFTER PUTTING FRENCH AT MOST NEGATIVE POINT IN SPECTRUM, SCHROEDER SAID BRITISH MIGHT BE NEAREST TO FRENCH POSITION GIVEN DIFFICULTIES IN DEVELOPING NEW ORIENTATION WITHIN EC AND GIVEN INTERNAL BURDENS OF ECONOMY AND ULSTER; SCHROEDER SAID BRITISH VERBAL SUPPORT OF COOPERATION WITH US WAS RARELY MATCHED WITH READINESS TO DIG INTO THEIR POCKETS. AS TO ITALY, SCHROEDER NOTED CHRONIC GOVERNMENT INSTABILITY, CONFIDENTIAL

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INFLUENCE OF LEFT POLITICAL PARTIES AND OTHER ITALIAN INTERESTS SUCH AS THE MEDITERRANEAN AND EAST/ WEST RELATIONS. HE CONSIDERED THAT THE SMALLER WEST EUROPEAN STATES WERE WITHOUT GREAT INFLUENCE AND COULD BE TENDING TOWARD NEUTRALITY IN THE LONGER RUN. SOMEWHAT SURPRISINGLY, GIVEN HIS STRONG OPPOSITION TO OSTPOLITIK, SCHROEDER PLACED GERMANY AT THE POSITIVE END OF THE

SPECTRUM.

3. AS SCHROEDER SEES IT, THE KEY ISSUE IN US/ EUROPEAN  
RELATIONS REMAINS AMERICAN SECURITY COMMITMENT THROUGH  
NATO AND US INTENTIONS VIS- A- VIS USSR. SCHROEDER  
TERMED IT A BASIC MAXIM THAT TO THE EXTENT US SECURITY  
GUARANTEE IS CAST IN DOUBT, EUROPEANS WILL BE INCLINED  
TO BE LESS FORTHCOMING IN TRADE AND MONETARY  
NEGOTIATIONS. ECHOING RECENT COMMENTS MADE TO US BY  
EGON BAHR, SCHROEDER SAID SECURITY PROBLEM HEART OF  
US/ EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP AND THAT THIS IS PARTICULARLY  
TRUE FOR GERMANY, WHICH REMAINS A DIVIDED COUNTRY

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INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12 NEA-10

TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 NIC-01 EB-11 CU-04

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5739  
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USMISSION BERLIN  
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WITH THE OTHER HALF CONTROLLED BY THE USSR.

4. SCHROEDER SAID BRANDT' S OSTPOLITIK SHOULD THEREFORE BE UNDERSTOOD BASICALLY AS A RESPONSE TO FRG CONCERN THAT " US PEACE GUARANTEE MIGHT NOT BE SUFFICIENT". IT THEREFORE SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISING, HE CONTINUED, THAT THE BREZHNEV VISIT TO BONN TOOK PLACE IN SUCH A POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE. THESE DEVELOPMENTS SHOULD, IN SCHROEDER' S VIEW, BE PERCEIVED IN TERMS OF CURRENT NATO POLICY OF DEFENSE AND DETENTE, WHICH IS DERIVED FROM HARMEL PLAN.

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SCHROEDER SAID HE AND THE GREATER PART OF HIS CDU BUNDESTAG COLLEAGUES THOUGHT NATO DEFENSE ALLIANCE WOULD DO BETTER TO CONCENTRATE MORE ON DEFENSE DETERRENTS AND LESS ON DETENTE AS BASIS FOR WESTERN SECURITY.

5. ASKED BY ELLSWORTH HOW MUCH PRESSURE THERE WAS IN GERMANY TO MOVE IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS FURTHER ON THE ROAD OF OSTPOLITIK, SCHROEDER REPLIED THAT THIS WOULD DEPEND MAINLY ON DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE IN US SECURITY GUARANTEE. IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH USSR WOULD DOUBTLESS TAKE PLACE IN THE TRADE AREA AND SHOULD BE BASED ON MUTUAL ADVANTAGE; FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF INNER- GERMAN RELATIONS WOULD ALSO TAKE PLACE AND WOULD BE HARD GOING. BUT IF WEST GERMANS CAME TO BELIEVE THAT US INTENDED IN SALT- II, MBFR OR OTHER AREAS TO " SETTLE THINGS OVER OUR HEADS AND AGAINST OUR INTERESTS WITH THE RUSSIANS", THEN INTENSE PRESSURE WOULD GROW IN GERMANY AND OTHER ALLIED CAPITALS FOR " SEPARATE ACCOMMODATIONS WITH MOSCOW". THIS KIND OF PROCESS, CONCLUDED SCHROEDER, COULD RESULT IN SUBSTANTIAL DISINTEGRATION OF ALLIED COOPERATION AND HAVE CONSEQUENTIALLY SERIOUS DESTABILIZING EFFECT ON EUROPEAN BALANCE OF POWER. SCHROEDER SAID THIS PROSPECT NEITHER DESIRABLE NOR INEVITABLE, BUT IS DEEMED BY MANY GERMAN PARLIAMENTARIANS TO BE SUFFICIENTLY PLAUSIBLE TO BE SOURCE OF CONSIDERABLE ANXIETY.

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